171 411 decorative object used on festive occasions and equipped with a large bone point superposed on the shaft and adorned with tufts of pendant feathers. On the Karajá spear, however, these tufts are secured between the bone point and a braided ornament that covers the front part of the shaft along a length of 50 to 80 centimeters, while in the Tapirapé photographs published in the article "A civilização dos índios de Goyaz" [The Civilization of the Goiás Indians] (Revista [112:58] da Semana), they are fastened behind (or, if the spear is held vertically, under) the two-tone braiding. The Karajá told Krause (loc. cit.) that in olden times, when the spear was used to hunt jaguars, the tufts served to frighten the animal. Speaking of the Kayapó, the same author (2, 390) writes that he observed a few spears similar to those of the Karajá in the course of a ceremony.

224 171 Judging by what I saw, the Tapirapé do not use hunting traps and differ in this respect from the ancient coastal Tupi whose traps are mentioned by several authors, for example, by Léry (134, 143) in the sixteenth century and by Vasconcellos (p. LXXVII) in the seventeenth. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

311 484 171 224 During our march to the river, the Tapirapé set fire to the high, dry grass. According to them, they did this to make walking easier on the return journey. This reason differs from that indicated to me by the Brazilian frontiersmen when they set grass fields on fire. They said that new grass would grow as a result of the burning and would attract deer and other animals, thus improving hunting conditions. Krause (2, 247) got the same explanation from the Karajá, who also liked to set fire to the grass fields. It may be 224 that the reason given by the Tapirapé reflects their lack of inclination for hunting. To my knowledge, they do not set fire to the fields for the purpose of killing the animals who run away from the fire and of gathering the small rodents who die in the flames, like, for example, the Chamakoko [Chamacoco] of the Chaco (Baldus 1, 32) and the Paressi of Mato Grosso (Roquette Pinto 126).

224 231 Among the dozen dogs (chavuana) in Tampiitaua, I did not find a single one specialized for a certain type of game. The two dogs who were with us when we encountered the pair of jaguars were immediately frightened by the animals and dared not run after them even in the company of the Indians. On the other hand, the wild

177 291 are compelled to inflict a new need upon them, the purely cultural rather than physical one of covering themselves. In 1935, all Tampiitáua women went altogether naked. Now, in the presence of the Whites, many of them use rags tied about the waist, and some of them are completely clothed.

177 262 [161] It is difficult to ascertain whether the Tapirapé are actually experiencing a shortage of animal foods brought about by their new neighbors. It should be kept in mind that the decrease in the number of Tampiitáua inhabitants has been more rapid than the increase in the number of river dwellers. Such complaints as the following [139] were not lacking, however. "Now the Tapirapé only eat small fish, they can no longer eat tucunaré [Tr., large fish], turtles, or turtle eggs."

[261] These words refer to the occupation of the entire river by frontiersmen, who have thus taken over the principal source of animal protein and fats. It is well to keep in mind also that every year during the dry season, when streams and lakes vanish, the fauna as well as the human beings in the region have to cluster around that watercourse in order to satisfy their thirst and hunger. There is no doubt that the [136] frontiersmen, by settling permanently in all the habitable places along the river and by becoming increasingly numerous, will continue to deplete the game and fish, which the Indians used to exploit only at [361] certain times of the year. In any case, the fact that Tampiitáua has been moved lately farther from the river and farther north seems to prove that the Tapirapé felt threatened by the proximity of the White settlers.

• 311 When I ascended the length of the Tapirapé River in a canoe in 1935, its banks were uninhabited. There was a single inhabitant at the river mouth, and he manned, so to speak, the most advanced 648 post of our civilization. In July, 1947, there were eight houses in Pôrto Velho, which stands more or less at the middle point of the navigable stretch, that is, 15 or 18 leagues from the mouth, and nearly all of their occupants came from the state of Pará and had lived previously at various spots on the Araguaia.

Their settlement, and with it the occupation of the Indian lands, began about five years ago and presents aspects characteristic of the processes that were repeated, with certain variations, throughout the colonization of Brazil. Their leader is a farmer by the name of Lucio

offer them a refuge in case of northern Kaiapó advances or attacks. It might also preclude the entry of adventurers into the lands to the south and west, which are assumed to be inhabited by the Akué-Chavante and by the Tupi tribe of the Ampaneá (in this respect, cf. my works, "Uma ponte etnográfica entre o Xingu e o Araguaia, [An ethnographic bridge between the Xingu and the Araguaia]," Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 43, São Paulo, 1938, and "Os Tapirapé, tribo tupi no Brasil Central [The Tapirapé, a Tupi tribe of Central Brazil]," ibid., Vol. 100, São Paulo, 1945).

[144] Since the Tapirapé are traditionally forest Indians, we must consider the possibility of establishing the new post in the vicinity of the recently burned village, that is, at the edge of the great forest. I regard this possibility as extremely slight owing to the difficulties of communication during the yearly floods that cover the savanna and the forest ground.

Another possible way of protecting the Tapirapé would be to gather them into a post to be established on Bananal Island. The advantage here would be their localization in a Federal territory intended exclusively as a reservation for the local Indians and more easily accessible than the upper Tapirapé River. On the other hand, this very accessibility might make it difficult to preserve the tribe as an ethnic entity. In addition, the following factors must be considered: although some Tapirapé groups, according to certain sources, lived for a while on Bananal Island more than 100 years ago, everything indicates that the bulk of the tribe has lived in its present habitat since the eighteenth century (cf. my study of this question in the Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 98, São Paulo, 1944), and the Tapirapé, therefore, are physically and culturally adapted to this environment and capable of preserving their culture within it. It should be added that in this case, also, the contact between the inhabitants of Tampiitáua and Txitxutáua would be retained, and with it the possibility of marrying outside the village or moving from one village to the other as a result of disappointments, political factors, etc. (1).

1. In a report on his visit to the Tapirapé that took place in September, 1948, Mr. Harald Schultz tells me that "none of the Tapirapé like the idea of being transferred to a spot near

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Conceição do Araguaia, as was Father Luiz Palha's plan." He says that these Indians wish to build a village near the houses of the above-mentioned São Pedro ranch, on the right margin of the Tapirapé, and he adds: "If the Indian Service is not in a position to establish a post for the Tapirapé Indians, it would be worth studying the possibility of entrusting Mr. Lucio da Luz with their protection. Mr. Lucio da Luz is a man of great means, and he would not be primarily interested in the meager wages of a man-in-charge or whatever he might be to those Indians, but would do this rather out of the humanitarian feelings which he seems to possess."

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Whatever the case may be, there are three basic needs to be considered in any resettlement of the Tapirapé: 1) the existence of an extensive forest adequate for the large gardens of this essentially farming tribe; 2) the exclusion of all representatives of our civilization who are not employees of the Indian Service, anthropologists, or physicians associated with the Service; 3) the exclusion of members of other aboriginal tribes.

I believe that Father Lelong is correct when he writes in his letter with reference to the Kaiapó who invaded Tapirapé territory: "Ten armed men would suffice to clear the territory of these assassins." These ten men, however, should be under the orders of the Indian Service so as to catch the culprits in the slaughter without shedding blood and take them to the idyllic penitentiary established at the Indian post of Icatu in the state of São Paulo. One of the most urgent tasks is unquestionably the lasting pacification of the northern Kaiapó who, unlike the Akué-Chavante, have the habit of leaving the traditional boundaries of their territory to attack harmless neighbors (cf. what I wrote about this in the Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 102, São Paulo, 1945, pp. 123-130).

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506

by Bento Maciel Parente in 1616 made war upon the Tenetehara. Epidemics, which raged in the early 17th century among the Indian populations of northeast Brazil, certainly reached the Tenetehara. From time to time smallpox, measles, and other diseases have taken a heavy toll among these Indians. The impact of the dominant culture upon the Tenetehara was more intense than it has been upon the Tapirapé. In addition to differences in the nature of the contact continuum, factors inherent in the society and the culture of the two tribes were responsible for the reaction of these societies to Luso-Brazilian contact and for the population trends which followed. Since the Tenetehara and the Tapirapé have historically related cultures sharing many patterns and institutions common to most Tupi speaking tribes, a comparison of the two societies and cultures should allow us to determine the variables responsible for their contrasting reactions.

The subsistence methods of the tribes were in aboriginal times basically similar. Both were tropical forest horticulturalists depending upon hunting, fishing, and forest fruits to supplement their diet. For fishing, the Tenetehara had an advantage since their villages were normally situated near rivers and streams while the Tapirapé villages were located inland many kilometers from the river. In hunting, the Tapirapé had the advantage of nearby open plains country where hunting was more productive than in the tropical forest. Neither tribe had a land problem: the nearest village of the Karajá, who were Tapirapé neighbors, was at least two hundred kilometers away and the Timbira neighbors of the Tenetehara were savanna people offering no competition for forest land. Both tribes during aboriginal times had sufficient territory to move their villages every five or six years when suitable garden sites near their villages had been used up by the slash-and-burn system of horticulture. The two tribes inhabited similar physical environments and they had approximately the same technological equipment to cope with it. Their technology and their subsistence methods must have limited the maximum population of any one village and there are indications that approximately two hundred people was the average village size for both groups. On the other hand, a lack of territory evidently did not enforce a limitation on the number of villages for the tribe. Yet while the Tapirapé tell of only five villages in aboriginal times many times that number are reported by early observers for the Tenetehara. Although specific data is not available, it seems that in aboriginal times Tapirapé population was relatively small and stable while the Tenetehara population was at least twice as large and probably expanding.

This difference in population level between the two tribes in aboriginal times was related to the population policies held by the two groups as well as to differences in social structure of the groups concerned. These cultural values relating to population level are explicit in attitudes toward family size and in positive actions to limit families. Among the Tenetehara infanticide is indicated only in the case of the birth of twins since they are believed to be the result of sexual relations between the mother and a dangerous supernatural and in the case of infants with certain supernaturally caused